

THE SOUTHERN NEGRO AND VOTER REGISTRATION  
1954 - 1964

A THESIS

SUBMITTED TO THE FACULTY OF ATLANTA UNIVERSITY  
IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS  
FOR THE DEGREE OF MASTER OF ARTS

BY

EARNESTINE OMEGA BARNETTE

DEPARTMENT OF POLITICAL SCIENCE

ATLANTA, GEORGIA  
August 1965

R. H. T. 74

## TABLE OF CONTENTS

Chapter		Page
I.	Introduction . . . . .	1
	Purpose of Study . . . . .	6
	Sources of Material . . . . .	6
	Scope and Limitations . . . . .	6
	Methods of Study. . . . .	7
	Procedure of Study . . . . .	7
	Significance of Study . . . . .	8
II.	Historical Background . . . . .	10
	Reconstruction . . . . .	10
	The Fourteenth Amendment . . . . .	11
	Congressional Statute of 1867 . . . . .	13
	Fifteenth Amendment . . . . .	15
	Devices to Disfranchise . . . . .	15
	Grandfather Clause . . . . .	19
	Literacy Tests . . . . .	21
	White Primary . . . . .	22
	Poll Tax . . . . .	25
III.	Organizations Operating to Oppose Negro	
	Suffrage and Organizations Active in Negro Registration and Voting. . . . .	27
	Part I - Anti-Negro Registra- tion Organizations . . . . .	27
	Ku Klux Klans . . . . .	27
	White Citizens Councils . . . . .	31
	Splinter Groups . . . . .	34
	NAAWP . . . . .	34
	Dixiecrats . . . . .	34
	Part II - Organizations Designed to Increase Negro Registration . . . . .	35



Chapter	Page
NAACP . . . . .	35
National Urban League . . . . .	39
Voter Education Project . . . . .	39
Southern Christian Leadership Conference . . . . .	42
Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee . . . . .	43
Congress of Racial Equality . . . . .	44
Local Political and Civic Leagues . . .	45
IV. Progress and Problems of Negro Registration . . . . .	47
Increases . . . . .	47
Current Problems . . . . .	48
Chart Showing Increases . . . . .	49-50
V. Recent Laws to Aid Negro Registration .	54
Civil Rights Act of 1957 . . . . .	54
Civil Rights Act of 1960 . . . . .	56
The Twenty-Fourth Amendment . . . . .	59
Civil Rights Act of 1964 . . . . .	60
VI. Summary and Conclusion . . . . .	63
BIBLIOGRAPHY . . . . .	68

## CHAPTER I

### INTRODUCTION

The United States is the first continental experiment in democracy. Politics, according to Max Weber, "means striving to share power or striving to influence the distribution of power, either among states or among groups within a state."<sup>1</sup> Democratic politics entails popular participation in the political process. "Taxation without representation" was the battle cry of the American Revolution. Representation presupposes participation in the selection of representatives. The American revolutionaries were deeply committed to self-government and national independence. They insisted on the rights of Englishmen.

The Declaration of Independence, which is, perhaps, the most eloquent defining attribute of the American Creed, affirms the revolutionary proposition that governments derive "their just powers from the consent of the governed." This doctrine has been echoed down through the centuries and decades. It has prodded the

---

<sup>1</sup> Max Weber, Essays in Sociology, trans. H. H. Guth and C. Wright Mills (New York, 1958), p. 78.

conscience not only of Americans but of people the world over. Oppressed people everywhere -- at home and abroad -- have been informed and inspired by the Declaration of Independence. In our own country, the propertyless, women, the weak, immigrants, and other disabled groups have appealed to the Declaration of Independence.

The treatment of the Negro, in the light of the profound equalitarian commitment of the United States, has been and still is a constant source of embarrassment.

In An American Dilemma, Myrdal states that:

To the great majority of white Americans the Negro problem has distinctly negative connotations. It suggests something difficult to settle and equally difficult to leave alone. It is embarrassing. It makes for moral uneasiness. The very presence of the Negro in America; his fate in this country through slavery, Civil War and Reconstruction; his recent career and present status; his accommodation; his protest and his aspiration; in fact, his entire biological, historical, and social existence as a participant American, represent to the ordinary white man in the North as well as in the South anomaly in the very structure of American society. To many, this takes on the proportion of a menace -- biological, economic, social, cultural, and at times, political. This anxiety may be mingled with a feeling of individual and collective guilt. A few see the problem as a challenge to statesmanship. To all it is trouble.<sup>2</sup>

---

<sup>2</sup>Gunnar Myrdal, An American Dilemma (New York, 1944), p. xlv.

Myrdal's prophetic words were published in 1944. The Negro "Protest Movement" is a dramatic illustration of the validity of his insights. The Negro has always been a problem for the institutional commitments and conscience of white America. "It is impossible to square the equalitarian creed of our country with the domination, subordination, and suppression of the Negro in the American social and political order."

The 1959 Civil Rights Commission stated in its report that the Commission regarded "the right to vote as the cornerstone of the Republic, and a key to all our civil rights."<sup>3</sup> Perhaps millions are denied the right to vote on account of race or color. In the famous Putney debates of Cromwell's army, the Levellers advocated universal suffrage. Ireton did not believe in the extension of suffrage to the general community. Pettus replied to Ireton: "We judge that all inhabitants who have not lost their birthright should have an equal voice in elections."<sup>4</sup>

---

<sup>3</sup> Cited in David Fellman, "Constitutional Law in 1959-1960," American Political Science Review, LX (March, 1961), 115.

<sup>4</sup> Cited in G. P. Gooch, English Democratic Ideas in the Seventeenth Century (Cambridge, England, 1954), p. 130.

That is the heart of the matter from a democratic perspective: equality of suffrage is a man's birthright.

To deny the Negro the right to vote is to deny him one of the most precious and effective tools for securing equality of opportunity in other areas of experience. The concept of democracy implies that each person should be given the same opportunity to reach the level of which his abilities entitle him, unhampered by hindrance or control of any person or privileged group.

Suffrage for white male citizens came early in the country's history. Equalitarianism "in the West helped spur the movement for white manhood suffrage in the older states of the East. This movement, which began early in the nineteenth century, gathered new force during the age of Andrew Jackson. In spite of opposition from some property holders in the East, the franchise was granted to all white males in a majority of the eastern states by 1830. A few were slower in giving up their restrictive laws. Rhode Island did not remove property owning as a suffrage requirement until after 1842. North Carolina dropped property-owning restrictions in 1856, thus making universal white manhood suffrage nation-

wide."<sup>5</sup> Women got the right to vote in federal elections in 1920, with the ratification of the Nineteenth Amendment.

The Negro, however, has faced persistent difficulty in winning suffrage. "Prior to the Civil War, Negroes had the right to vote in only four northern states -- Massachusetts, New Hampshire, New York, and Vermont. One southern state, North Carolina, for a period allowed freed slaves to vote. By the time of the ratification of the Fifteenth Amendment in 1870, only seven northern states had extended the suffrage to the Negro."<sup>6</sup>

With the end of the Civil War, the United States entered upon a period of political reconstruction. The victorious federal government was faced with many problems. One of these problems was the political, economic, and social rights to be granted Negroes. The efforts to solve this and other problems of Reconstruction kept the nation in turmoil and resulted in bitterness and hatred that are still in evidence today.

---

<sup>5</sup> Howard Penniman, The American Political Process (Princeton, 1962), p. 12.

<sup>6</sup> Ibid.

Purpose of Study. -- To discover and evaluate the role of the Negro in the area of voter registration in the South, 1954-1964, is the controlling purpose of this study. More specifically, the purposes of this study are:

- (1) to point out briefly the history of Negro suffrage;
- (2) to describe and compare the organizations working against Negro suffrage and the organizations working to increase Negro registration;
- (3) to analyze the current problems facing the Negro would-be voter in the South, and to note what progress he has made since 1954 in registration;
- (4) to describe and analyze the recent acts passed by Congress to extend registration and voting rights to the Negro of the South, and
- (5) to summarize and conclude the investigations.

Source of Material. -- The instruments used in this study were books, documents, periodicals, congressional statutes, Supreme Court decisions, newspapers, magazines, and unpublished materials.

Scope and Limitations. -- This study is concerned with Negro voter registration from 1954 to 1964. Too, it is concerned only with the effective methods and organizations which are common to the South. Our definition of the South

also limits the study. By the South, we mean the eleven states of the old Confederacy. The writer was not able to secure Negro voter registration figures for the years of 1954, 1955, 1957, 1959, 1961, and 1963. This, too, limits the study.

After the Supreme Court rendered its memorable May 17, 1954 school desegregation decision in the case of Brown V. the Board of Education of Topeka,<sup>7</sup> the white South's resistance to change intensified.<sup>8</sup> This seemed like an ideal beginning year.

Methods of Study. -- Methods used in this study were analytical, compative, descriptive, and historical.

Procedure of Study. -- Chapter I is the general introduction to the study. A brief history of Negro suffrage dating back to Reconstruction is the subject of Chapter II. Chapter III is a description and analysis of organizations working against increased Negro regis-

---

<sup>7</sup> Brown V. Board of Education, 347 U. S. 483 (1954).

<sup>8</sup> Ralph McGill, "The Case for the Southern Progressive," Saturday Review, June 13, 1964, p. 18.



tration and voting, as well as organizations committed to the expansion of Negro suffrage. In Chapter IV, the writer deals with the problems and progress of Negro registration in the eleven southern states. Chapter V is devoted to an examination of congressional action aimed at extending the voting rights of Negroes in the South. The final chapter presents the summary and conclusion of the study.

Significance of Study. -- Negroes constitute a high percentage of the citizenry of the South as well as of the country as a whole. A basic test of the character of American ideals is how the country treats Negroes. Registration and voting are intimate essentials of the political process.

A study of Negro registration in the South, 1954-1964, is important because it could serve as an indicator both of current change and of potentials. Diagnosis must precede remedy. It is necessary to understand the historic barriers to Negro registration and voting in order to see what must be done to increase the Negro's political power. Implicit in a proper understanding of the historic limitations on Negro registration are suggestions

on how to eradicate them.

There is much literature on Negro registration in the South. Yet comprehensive studies are rare. This investigation is designed to help remedy this lack of reliable understanding and information. The study is significant, moreover, not only because it adds to the body of literature on the subject, but also because it may well stimulate further systematic inquiries in the field of Negro registration and voting. The ultimate significance of this study is that it seeks to come to terms with the realities and possibilities of an old and timely problem confronting our country: the political power of the Negro in the South and what must be done to increase it. Political power is a major way of gaining access to the other benefits of the social and political order.

## CHAPTER II

### HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

Reconstruction. -- The United States faced gigantic problems of readjustments in the spring of 1865, because the Civil War was over, and the ordinary operations of the government had to be resumed and conditions gradually brought back to normalcy. A spirit of rebuilding or reconstruction had to replace the desire to destroy. The "staggering magnitude" of the task now challenged the responsible southerner.<sup>1</sup> From the end of the Civil War to the mid 1870's is the period known as Reconstruction.<sup>2</sup>

This was the period of national crisis and readjustment in which the rights of minorities were disregarded as the nation attempted to meet problems inherent in the post-war readjustments.<sup>3</sup> The Reconstruction Era, as the post-war period was called, was a tragic time in American history. Eleven states were out of the Union, awaiting

---

<sup>1</sup> John Hope Franklin, Reconstruction After the Civil War (Chicago, 1961), pp. 2-3.

<sup>2</sup> Arnold and Caroline Rose, America Divided (New York, 1953), p. 132.

<sup>3</sup> Bernard Nelson, Fourteenth Amendment and the Negro Since 1920 (Washington, 1946), pp. 1-2.

readmission at the pleasure and mercy of the North. The economy of the South had been smashed and local resources for rebuilding were meager because the economic resources of the South were its land and its labor. It needed more than land. The South needed capital.<sup>4</sup>

The plantation South was reduced through the Civil War. But the South tried to build up a labor organization as similar as possible to slavery. Eight southern states immediately after the Civil War (1865-1867) passed Black Codes.<sup>5</sup>

These codes, "which gave the Negroes in the South very little freedom and often placed him under the uncontrolled supervision of his former master or other white men who were ready to exploit his labor," were among the factors which stimulated Congress to carry out Reconstruction along more drastic lines.<sup>6</sup>

The Fourteenth Amendment. -- Congress proceeded with its own ideas of Reconstruction. In June, 1866, the 39th

---

<sup>4</sup> Franklin, op. cit., pp. 7-11.

<sup>5</sup> Gunnar Myrdal, An American Dilemma (New York, 1944), pp. 227-228.

<sup>6</sup> Ibid.

Congress adopted a resolution to alter the federal Constitution by adding the Fourteenth Amendment. After some changes, the amendment was passed in the House of Representatives and Senate and sent to the states for ratification.<sup>7</sup>

This Fourteenth Amendment states:<sup>8</sup>

All persons born or naturalized in the United States and subject to the jurisdiction thereof, are citizens of the United States and of the states wherein they reside. No state shall make or enforce any law which shall abridge the privileges or immunities of citizens of the United States; nor shall any state deprive any person of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law, nor any person within its jurisdiction the equal protection of law.

The first section of the amendment prohibits states from abridging the privileges and immunities of citizens of the United States, or unlawfully depriving them of life, liberty, or property, or denying to any person within their jurisdiction equal protection of the laws. In other words, the amendment restrains the power of the states, and

---

<sup>7</sup> Charles A. Beard, A New Basic History of the United States (Garden City, 1944), p. 277.

<sup>8</sup> United States Constitution, Amendment 14, sec. 1.

compels them at all times to respect these great fundamental guarantees of life, liberty, and property.<sup>9</sup>

This amendment stands as a "charter of liberties" in the protection of the rights of every American.<sup>10</sup>

In the Fourteenth Amendment, the white southerners could observe far-reaching dangers; therefore, the amendment was unacceptable to them, and they tried to find a way around the amendment.<sup>11</sup> It was argued that "this is a white man's government, and in the sight of God and the light of reason a suffrage is impossible."<sup>12</sup>

Congressional Statute of 1867. -- Since the southern states had rejected the Fourteenth Amendment, a joint congressional committee drew up another Reconstruction Act aimed at forcing the South to terms. One of the

---

<sup>9</sup> F. L. Windolph, "The Two Fourteenth Amendments," Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, CVCV (January, 1938), 13.

<sup>10</sup> Nelson, Op. cit., p. 158.

<sup>11</sup> Ibid.

<sup>12</sup> Paul Lewinson, Race, Class and Party (New York, 1965), p. 37.

features of this act ordered the South divided into five military districts, each under a military governor. In order to remove military rule and be readmitted into the Union, Congress demanded that the southern states do the following:

- (1) Elect representatives of all qualified voters, Negro and white, to draw up new state constitutions guaranteeing Negro suffrage;
- (2) Have qualified voters of the states approve these new constitutions;
- (3) Ratify the Fourteenth Amendment.<sup>13</sup>

There was more individual violence during this period than in normal times because it was a time when Negro suffrage was being put into operation in the face of the dissent of the South.<sup>14</sup> Violence continued, and each incident confirmed the view of northerners that drastic action should be taken in the South.<sup>15</sup> Violent deeds in the South only increased popular support in the

---

<sup>13</sup> Franklin, op. cit., pp. 23-31. Also see Nelson, op. cit., p. 13.

<sup>14</sup> Nelson, op. cit., p. 622.

<sup>15</sup> Franklin, op. cit., p. 63.

North.<sup>16</sup>

Fifteenth Amendment. -- To prevent Negro suffrage from being stricken from state constitutions, Congress resorted to the Fifteenth Amendment, and this amendment passed Congress on February 27, 1869. It was accepted by the states and promulgated on March 30, 1870.<sup>17</sup>

The Fifteenth Amendment states:

The right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any state on account of race, color, or previous condition of servitude.<sup>18</sup>

During the Reconstruction period, the federal government encouraged the freedom to vote and to run for office. "Federal troops were kept in the South to protect Negroes in this and other rights."<sup>19</sup>

Devices to Disfranchise. -- In every possible way, the southern whites resisted these attempts to give the Negro equality.<sup>20</sup> The South attempted to restore

---

<sup>16</sup> Lewinson, op. cit., p. 42.

<sup>17</sup> United States Constitution, Amendment 15, sec. 1.  
See also Franklin, op. cit., pp. 83-84.

<sup>18</sup> Ibid.

<sup>19</sup> Nelson, op. cit., p. 13.

<sup>20</sup> Rose, op. cit., p. 132.



slavery in everything but name, and it set out to by-pass the Fourteenth Amendment entirely. Various "Black Codes" and clauses that were written into the constitution of the deep southern states committed southern politics to a succession of "dishonest provocations."<sup>21</sup> The "Black Codes" were a series of laws passed prior to the adoption of the Fourteenth Amendment that regulated the labor of Negroes, subjected them to violence, and severely limited their freedom of movements.<sup>22</sup> Southern whites believed in the inferiority of the Negro and ~~though~~ it quite enough to admit him to the elementary phases of citizenship. They could not understand the demand that the Negroes have equal status with the whites. The South also believed in states' rights, and considered it wicked and unconstitutional that Congress could dictate what a state constitution should contain.<sup>23</sup>

When military control was withdrawn from the South in 1876, southern whites regained dominance in most of the

---

<sup>21</sup> Ralph McGill, The South and the Southerner (Boston, 1963), p. 219.

<sup>22</sup> Rose, op. cit., p. 122.

<sup>23</sup> John S. Bassett, A Short History of the United States 1492-1920 (New York, 1932), p. 619.

southern states by intimidation.<sup>24</sup> The size of the Negro vote was naturally reduced as the whites gained control. In some states, the total number of voters was reduced by one-third. The drop was greatest in the counties where Negroes constituted a high proportion of the total population.<sup>25</sup> After 1876, the Negro vote ceased to be an item of importance in state governments.<sup>26</sup>

The Negro in the South was to be kept "in his place" by preventing his participation in community life.<sup>27</sup> Disfranchisement of the Negro became the symbol of the humiliation of the South. Even today, the average white southerner resents the thought of Negroes voting on a par with white people.<sup>28</sup>

---

<sup>24</sup> Rayford, Logan (ed.), The Attitude of the Southern White Press Toward Negro Suffrage - 1932-1940 (Washington, 1940), p. 1.

<sup>25</sup> Howard Penniman, The American Political Process (New York, 1962), p. 16.

<sup>26</sup> Edward Reuther, The American Race Problem - A Study of the Negro (New York, 1938), p. 15.

<sup>27</sup> Ibid., p. 156.

<sup>28</sup> Gunnar Myrdal, An American Dilemma, The Negro Problem and Democracy (New York, 1944), pp. 445-448.

Gradually, the Negro was disfranchised by illegal administrative practices. These were rapidly translated into statutory and constitutional disfranchisement. The disfranchisement of the Negro and the segregation movement exemplify the "concerted" development.<sup>29</sup> Mississippi adopted a constitution to disfranchise Negroes in 1890. Similar action was taken by South Carolina in 1895; North Carolina in 1900; Alabama and Virginia in 1901; Louisiana and Georgia in 1908, and Oklahoma in 1910.<sup>30</sup>

In the case of Plessy v. Ferguson of 1896, state discrimination and desegregation on the basis of race was held to be lawful as long as each race was treated equally.<sup>31</sup> This was the famous "separate but equal" decision, and it paved the way for discrimination against the Negro in every sector of the South. "Jim Crow" laws of every type were, therefore, enacted and upheld as

<sup>32</sup>

The southern states used limitations based

on educational tests, residence, and poll taxes. A general enforcement of the acts would have disfranchised whites as well as Negroes.<sup>33</sup>

Immediately after 1876, the redeemed South "beat its energies" to minimize the Negro vote. It could not sweep the Negro out the "political arena."<sup>34</sup> It still had to devise adequate machinery to stop him. The South used such devices as the "grandfather clause," poll tax, and literacy requirements, elaborate and confusing registration schemes and other methods.<sup>35</sup>

Grandfather Clause. -- Drafters of southern suffrage requirements set out to establish standards that would admit whites to the electorate, but would exclude Negroes without mentioning race or color. It was then decided that clauses relating to "character" understanding or the "grandfather" relationship would be added so that whites

---

<sup>33</sup>  
Ibid.

<sup>34</sup> V. O. Key, Southern Politics (New York, 1956), p. 556. See also John Hope Franklin, "Legal Disfranchisement of the Negro," The Journal of Negro Education, XXVI (Summer, 1957), 245-248.

<sup>35</sup>  
Ibid.

could vote without reference to the general restrictions. The "grandfather clause" was invented by a Mississippi convention and soon adopted by other southern states.<sup>36</sup> A white person who could not "read" any section of the constitution might qualify as an elector if he could "understand" and give "reasonable" interpretation when it was read to him. The assumption was that registrars would find that illiterate whites had the capacity to understand and interpret the constitution.<sup>37</sup>

The "grandfather clause" restricted voting to those persons who had voted prior to 1861 and their descendants, or to persons who had served in the federal or confederate armies, or state militias and their descendants. Since Negroes before 1861 had been slaves and thus ineligible to vote, this exemption benefited only the whites.<sup>38</sup>

In 1915, the Supreme Court invalidated the "grandfather clause" because it was in conflict with the Fifteenth Amendment. After this decision, state constitutions in the

---

<sup>36</sup> Rose, op. cit., p. 137. Also see Lewinson, op. cit., p. 81.

<sup>37</sup> Ibid., pp. 122-137.

<sup>38</sup> Rose, op. cit., p. 137.

South were amended to include a great number of barriers to voting.<sup>39</sup>

There is a striking lack of uniformity in registrations and requirements in southern states. Even within the same state, there are wide variations in interpretation and application of the registration laws. Registrars employ their own interpretation of the laws.<sup>40</sup>

Literacy Tests. - - A white citizen may prove his literacy by merely reading his ABC's, but a Negro must prove himself a "constitutional lawyer" before a white board of registrars will admit that he is able to read and write.<sup>41</sup>

Whether a Negro can register in the South depends upon what the registrar at the courthouse says, and he usually has the final say.<sup>42</sup> The Negro must demonstrate his ability

---

<sup>39</sup> Ibid.

<sup>40</sup> Ralph Bunche, "The Negro in the Political Life of the United States," Race Prejudice and Discrimination, ed. Arnold Rose (New York, 1951), pp. 221-22.

<sup>41</sup> Iswald Villard, "The Lawless," The Nation July 19, 1928, p. 134.

<sup>42</sup> Key, op. cit., p. 560.

to interpret the Constitution of the United States. In the judgment of the registrar, even literate Negroes, some of whom are college and university graduates, are often unable to pass the literacy tests.<sup>43</sup>

Trickery and intimidation are still employed, especially in rural districts of the South, to prevent Negroes from registering and voting. In Hattiesburg, Mississippi, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People found that Negroes were asked this question on their literacy test: "How many bubbles are there in a bar of soap?"<sup>44</sup>

White Primary. -- As is always the case, fraudulent methods "beget" others. Some of the devices became the shield of the southern way of life.<sup>45</sup> The most effective method used in the South was the "white primary." The

---

<sup>43</sup>Reuther, op. cit., p. 159. See also Florence B. Irving, "The Future of the Negro Voter in the South," Journal of Negro Education, XXVI (Summer, 1957), 395.

<sup>44</sup>Henry Moon, "The Negro Vote in the South," The Nation, September 27, 1952, pp. 245-246.

<sup>45</sup>McGill, op. cit., p. 219.

origin of this device is not easily traced. It seemed, however, that the "white primary" originated in the South as early as the direct method of nomination.

Members of the Democratic party in the southern states decided that only white Democrats would be permitted to vote in the party primary. Since the outcome of the general election was always the opinion which had been expressed in the primary, the primary in effect substituted<sup>47</sup> for the general election in this one-party section.

Because, among other reasons, a Republican administration was at the helm during the Civil War and Reconstruction, the white South affiliated itself with the Democratic party. It has remained, for the most part, Democratic, and has kept the Democratic party in the South a white man's party to prevent Negroes from having any voice in government.<sup>48</sup> Reference is often made to the South as the "Solid South," yet the South has really never been "solid" except in its traditional adherence to the doctrine of white supremacy and blind obedience to the one-party

---

<sup>46</sup>Key, op. cit., pp. 475-480.

<sup>47</sup>Nelson, op. cit., pp. 36-37.

<sup>48</sup>Myrdal, op. cit., p. 475.



system.<sup>49</sup>

Negro leaders and organizations attacked the constitutionality of the "white primary" under the "equal protection" clause of the Fourteenth Amendment. The most consistent attack on the "white primary" was made in Texas. Here, the primary was an integral part of the state election system.<sup>50</sup>

In 1944, in the case of Smith v. Allwright, the Supreme Court held the "white primary" unconstitutional.<sup>51</sup> This decision dealt a stunning blow to the most significant political custom or practice of the southern states. However, the decision did not dispose of all remaining suffrage and registration hurdles in the way of the Negro.<sup>52</sup> Many squabbles about the "white primary" resounded over Dixie. Alabama, Mississippi, and South Carolina adopted measures of various sorts to preserve, in effect, if not

---

<sup>49</sup> Bunche, op. cit., p. 219.

<sup>50</sup> Nelson, op. cit., pp. 36-37.

<sup>51</sup> Nelson, op. cit., pp. 36-37. Also Smith V. Allwright, 321 U. S. 644 (1944).

<sup>52</sup> O. Douglas Weeks, "The White Primary," American Political Science Review, XLII (1948), 500-510.

in form, the "white primary."<sup>53</sup>

Poll Tax. -- The poll tax, as a qualification for voting, was peculiar to eight states in the South in the twentieth century. These states were South Carolina, Alabama, Arkansas, Louisiana, Texas, Virginia, Mississippi, and Georgia. While the poll tax was originated to bar Negroes from the polls, it had a somewhat similar effect on poor whites.<sup>54</sup> It is one of the oldest forms of direct taxation. There are different kinds of poll taxes, but in general, the requirement is the voluntary payment of a small sum (one to three dollars) before registration. It is a "fee" paid for the right to vote. In several southern states, the poll tax is cumulative and the payment of more than one year's poll tax is required for the right to vote.<sup>55</sup>

Proof of payment methods differs from state to state. Since 1956, four states have retained poll tax requirements. In Virginia and Alabama the tax collector notifies the registration officials of payment. The official list of

---

<sup>53</sup> Key, op. cit., p. 621.

<sup>54</sup> Rose, op. cit., p. 138.

<sup>55</sup> Myrdal, op. cit., pp. 480-482.

voters then serves as evidence that the tax has been paid and presentation of evidence by the voters is required. In Texas, the receipt must be presented at the polls or an affidavit made in writing stating that it was lost. In Mississippi, the receipt or certified copy must be presented at the primary election, and in the general election, the voter must only produce "satisfactory evidence" of payment. The poll tax receipt serves as evidence in Arkansas that the person applying to vote is a qualified elector.<sup>56</sup> The Negro, migratory, and unused to perserving documents, feel these requirements more keenly than the whites.<sup>57</sup>

---

<sup>56</sup> Key, op. cit., pp. 587-588.

<sup>57</sup> Lewinson, op. cit., p. 66.

### CHAPTER III

#### ORGANIZATIONS OPERATING TO OPPOSE NEGRO SUFFRAGE AND ORGANIZATIONS ACTIVE IN NEGRO REGISTRATION AND VOTING

##### I. Anti-Negro Registration Organizations

Ku Klux Klans. -- Since Reconstruction, every period of crisis in the relation of the South and the nation has given rise to resistance movements below the Potomac. Many pro-segregation groups have appeared on the southern scene since the Supreme Court's decision of May 17, 1954. One of them is the newly organized Knights of the Ku Klux Klan. This is a newly organized and newly chartered organization which seeks to trade on the Ku Klux Klan name, but it is little more than a ghost of its adopted ancestor.<sup>1</sup>

Today there are an estimated fourteen or seventeen "Klans" in existence. Their total membership is probably less than 15,000. Klan lawyer James Venable said the old Klan had a membership of four or five million and had members in every state in the Union. The Klan's literature is anti-Negro, anti-Catholic, anti-foreign, and anti-Semitic. Klans organizations preach that the Jewish and Catholic religions are allied with the Negroes in a conspiracy against

---

<sup>1</sup>H. C. Fleming, "Resistance Movements and Racial Desegregation," The Annals of American Academy of Political and Social Science, CIV (March, 1956), 44-52.

white Protestant gentiles. Their aim is to maintain supremacy by terror or violence.<sup>2</sup> Quite suddenly in 1954, the organizations took a new lease on life. In the South, thousands of fiery crosses lighted up the night.<sup>3</sup> On May 17, 1954, in the case of Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka, the Supreme Court outlawed segregation in the public schools.<sup>4</sup> Klan groups were organized, not as a single organization, but as a host of splinter groups, competing with one another. James Venable, Imperial Wizard of the National Knights of the Ku Klux Klan said, "The Ku Klux Klan is determined to become once again the dominant political force in our country."<sup>5</sup>

In manifesting opposition to desegregation, the Klans used various methods and techniques. While the battle for

---

<sup>2</sup>Ralph McGill, "The Klans are Profitable," Atlanta Constitution, December 9, 1964. See also William P. Randel, The Ku Klux Klan (New York, 1965), pp. 140-191.

<sup>3</sup>Arnold S. Rice, The Ku Klux Klan in American Politics (Washington, 1962), p. 118.

<sup>4</sup>Brown v. Board of Education, 347 U. S. 483 (1954).

<sup>5</sup>Robert Wagner, "Report on the Klan - 1964," Atlanta Constitution, July 19, 1964, p. 1B.

desegregation in the public schools of the South was taking place, the Klans were multiplying. By 1958, there were many different splinter groups. The largest order was called the "United States Klans, Knights of the Ku Klux Klan."<sup>6</sup>

According to Venable, the sole purpose for reviving the KKK is "to keep this country owned and operated by the white race . . . because the Negroes are inferior to white people, regardless of education."<sup>7</sup>

A fiery cross has been a KKK trademark for many years, but now it represents many splintered groups. It is difficult to generalize about the organization because there are so many Klan organizations, each with its own policies, and each with its own imperial wizards.<sup>8</sup>

Today, the Klan groups have their greatest influence in small cities and towns and rural areas, usually the areas that have a high percentage of Negroes. They oppose the civil rights movement, a reaction based upon "anger, fear, frustration, and conviction that harsh methods will

---

<sup>6</sup> Rice, op. cit., pp. 120-121.

<sup>7</sup> Ted Simmons, "Klan Lawyer Venable Remembers its Heyday in the 20's," Atlanta Constitution, April 5, 1965, p. 4.

<sup>8</sup> Wagner, op. cit., p. 1B.

stem the tide." <sup>9</sup>

Klans have been on the Attorney General's list of subversive organizations for years, and under constant surveillance by the Federal Bureau of Investigation. The Klans, which have sought above all also to shroud themselves in secrecy have become the national target of increasingly national attention. President Lyndon B. Johnson issued an appeal and a warning to its members "to get out now." He said, "We will not be intimidated by the terrorists of the Ku Klux Klan any more than by terrorists of the Viet Cong." <sup>10</sup>

Since many members of the Klan have been arrested in connection with bombings, intimidations, killings and shootings, Representative Charles Weltner has called for an investigation of the Ku Klux Klan. In his speech to the House of Representatives, he said, " . . . What shall be done? Shall we in Congress ignore the veil of fear descending upon whole communities? Shall we permit fearful

the liberties of our people?"<sup>11</sup>

White Citizens Councils. -- Klans were not the only organization to resist desegregation in the South, and Negro political and civic participation.<sup>12</sup> The White Citizens Council movement, dedicated to what it calls "state rights and racial integrity," began just ten years ago in Indianola, Mississippi.<sup>13</sup>

It was established a few months after the Supreme Court's 1954 school decision. Soon the movement was extended into surrounding counties through mimeographic mailings and semi-secret meetings. By October, 1954, the WCC was organized in twenty counties, and it was then strong enough to play a significant role in the passage of two state constitutional amendments. One was designed to facilitate disfranchisement of Negro voters.<sup>14</sup>

---

<sup>11</sup> Charles Weltner, "The Veil of Fear," Atlanta Constitution, April 5, 1965, p. 4.

<sup>12</sup> Rice, op. cit., p. 121

<sup>13</sup> Austin Scott, "White Citizens Councils are Spreading," Atlanta Constitution, August 23, 1964, p. 12. See also Rice, op. cit., p. 121.

<sup>14</sup> Fleming, op. cit., p. 48.



Many leaders of this movement have community status in terms of political influence, economic power, religious affiliations, and educational status. Their chief weapon is economic pressure. One of the leaders, a former senator, Fred Jones of Mississippi, issued this public statement: "We can accomplish our purpose largely with economic pressure in dealing with the members of the Negro race who are not cooperating, and with members of the white race who fail to cooperate, we can apply social and political pressure."<sup>15</sup> Both economic and social pressures have been widely used against advocates of desegregation.<sup>16</sup>

Economic sanctions have been used in Mississippi so that Negroes often have to choose between their jobs and voting. In Louisiana, the Councils have played the key role in a move to purge hundreds of Negroes from the voting lists.<sup>17</sup>

---

<sup>15</sup> Ibid. See also The Clarion-Ledger, October 24, 1958, p.1.

<sup>16</sup> Fleming, op. cit., p. 49.

<sup>17</sup> Margaret Price, The Negro Voter in the South (Atlanta, 1947), pp. 42-43. See also Samuel D. Cook, "Political Organizations and Movements in the South," Journal of Politics, XXVI (February, 1964), 136-138.

The plan for the White Citizens Councils was drawn from the book, Black Monday, by T. B. Brady of Brookhaven, Mississippi. In this book, the theory of economic pressure was advanced as a means of coping with the Negro's demand for equal rights.' Black Monday was a term used to designate May 17, 1954, the day of the Supreme Court's school integration decision.<sup>18</sup>

This powerful, "well-oiled" organization seeks to pull the states of the South back into the past. It is the largest of the resistance groups in the South. There are four chief planks in its platform of operation. (1) political activity; (2) large grass-root membership; (3) mobilization of public opinion, and (4) use of social and economic pressure.<sup>19</sup>

It would be well to contrast the Klans with the White Citizens Council. The Council carried out part of its program in the open; members made no attempt to shield from others their affiliation. There was no regalia and

---

<sup>18</sup> Ibid. See also Samuel D. Cook, op. cit., p. 132.

<sup>19</sup> Frederick Routh and Paul Anthony, "Southern Resistance Forces," Phylon, XVIII (First Quarter, 1957), 51.

the White Citizens Council enlisted the support of the most esteemed citizens. But much of the literature of both organizations was identical, and sometimes individuals belonged to both groups at the same time.<sup>20</sup> White Citizens Councils were organized to keep segregation in "all walks of life." They centered their campaign against Negro voting.<sup>21</sup>

NAAWP. - - The National Association for the Advancement of White People was started by a Floridan with a well-documented police record. This organization won overnight notoriety for its role in the Milford, Delaware, controversy. The outcome of the controversy - segregation was restored in the school, and the school board was replaced. This local skirmish gave encouragement and impetus to the resistance movement throughout the South, but it has not become the mass movement that the founder had predicted it would be.<sup>22</sup>

Dixiecrat or States Right Party. - Despite much talk about states' rights and anti-centralization, the Dixiecrat

---

<sup>20</sup>  
Rice, op. cit., p. 121.

<sup>21</sup>  
Florence B. Irving, "The Future of the Negro Voter in the South," The Journal of Negro Education, XXVI (Summer, 1957), 394-396.

<sup>22</sup>  
Fleming, op. cit., p. 45.

Party of 1948 was primarily an anti-Negro movement. Anti-civil rights legislation was its heart and soul, and its appeal was to racial fears and frustrations.<sup>23</sup>

## II. Organizations Designed to Increase Negro Registration

NAACP. -- The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People is composed of men and women of all races and classes "who believe that the present widespread increase of prejudice against colored races, and particularly the denial of rights and opportunities to Negroes is not only unjust, but is also a direct hindrance to world peace and the relation of Human Brotherhood."<sup>24</sup>

This organization is a key agency for the Negroes in their struggle for civil rights. The NAACP works through the national office in New York City, and through local associations in cities almost everywhere in the United States.<sup>25</sup>

On the 110th anniversary of Abraham Lincoln's birth, a call was issued in New York for a conference on the status

---

<sup>23</sup> Cook, op. cit., pp. 140-141.

<sup>24</sup> "The NAACP," Crisis, November, 1910, p. 3.

<sup>25</sup> Myrdal, op. cit., II, pp. 819-820.

of the colored people. This conference met in New York, May 12-14, 1910. The second conference organized a permanent body to be known as the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.<sup>26</sup> Dr. W. E. B. Dubois was the first director of publicity and research.<sup>27</sup>

The national office of the NAACP determines the policy of the organization and supervises the work of the branches. Generally, the national office acts as a "watchdog" over Negro rights. When anything important develops on the national or local scene which is adverse to the Negro interest, the association promptly intervenes.

The Association has been active in defending the Negroes' right to vote. In 1915, it succeeded in having the "grandfather clause" of the southern state constitutions declared unconstitutional. It fought cases connected with the "white primary" and had it proven unconstitutional.<sup>28</sup>

Today, the purposes of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People are as follows:

---

<sup>26</sup> Ibid.

<sup>27</sup> Myrdal, op. cit., II, pp. 826-827.

<sup>28</sup> Ibid.

<sup>29</sup> Nelson, op. cit., pp. 61-62.

1. To educate America to extend full rights and opportunities to Negroes;
2. To conduct an aggressive campaign of court action to fight injustices against Negroes;
3. To defeat the enactment of discriminatory legislation;
4. To increase Negro registration and voting.

Much of the action of this organization furnishes legal aid in cases where race prejudices have resulted in injustices to the Negro.<sup>30</sup>

One of its main objectives recently has been to conduct a registration and voting drives in the South. It has encouraged the development of Negro voters leagues in all southern states. The organizations differ from state to state, but in all the southern states, they have given voters a channel of organized political expression independent of political parties.<sup>31</sup>

Both the late Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt and the late President John F. Kennedy recognized that universal suffrage is an essential ingredient of a truly democratic society.

---

<sup>30</sup>  
Ibid.

<sup>31</sup>  
Alexander Heard, A Two-Party South? (Chapel Hill, 1952), pp. 182-197.

The NAACP has long recognized this. Now this organization is currently engaged, in cooperation with other organizations, in a voter campaign to extend the Negro vote in the South where only 43.8% of the potential Negro voters are enrolled as compared to 73.1% of the white potentials.<sup>32</sup>

This association, perhaps, has played a greater role in the South for the advancement of Negroes than any other organization. It has been the driving force behind the advancement of the Negro, and it has led in most of the Negro's legal battles for equal rights. The NAACP has remained non-partisan, but it exerts professional influences on "when" to vote, "why" Negroes vote, and "how" they vote.<sup>33</sup>

Funds newly made available by foundation grants will be used by the NAACP to accelerate its own voter registration campaign in the South.<sup>34</sup>

---

<sup>32</sup> James Ivey, "The Right to Vote," Crisis, July, 1962, pp. 278-279. See also Wiley A. Branton, "To Register to Vote in Mississippi," New South, February, 1965, p. 15.

<sup>33</sup> Heard, op. cit., p. 182.

<sup>34</sup> James Ivey, op. cit., pp. 278-279.

National Urban League. -- An interracial movement began in New York in 1910 when three organizations merged into one. It decided the Negroes did not need alms, but opportunity to work at the job for which the Negro was best fitted, with good pay for equal work and equal opportunity for advancement.<sup>35</sup>

The Urban League is the parent organization. Its central office is in New York City, and a southern field branch office is in Atlanta, Georgia. Local branches of the League are established in 46 cities and twelve of these are in the South.<sup>36</sup>

Currently, the Urban League is engaged in the Voter Education Project. It was the first organization to rally to the Voter Education Project.

Voter Education Project. -- Several leaders of civil rights organizations, foundations and other agencies met at intervals during 1961 to consider ways and means of increasing the registration of Negroes in the South.<sup>37</sup> The Voter Education Project, the most ambitious drive ever for

---

<sup>35</sup> Myrdal, op. cit., II, pp. 837-839.

<sup>36</sup> Ibid.

<sup>37</sup> First Annual Report of the Voter Education Project, (Atlanta, 1962-1963), pp. 1-19.



full Negro voter registration, started in 1962.<sup>38</sup> This drive was led by major civil rights organizations, and financed by large grants from private foundations in the North. Persons attending the meeting agreed that the Southern Regional Council would develop the plans and strategy of the project, act as an administrator for the money for this plan, with representatives of the participating agencies serving in an advisory capacity.<sup>39</sup>

An immediate increase in the number of registered Negro voters is the objective of the Voter Education Project. Usually the agencies begin with a canvass of the area to determine the number and location of non-registered prospects. Since the South is the area of lowest registration, all VEP activities are limited to eleven southern states. These states are Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi, North Carolina, South Carolina, Tennessee, Texas, and Virginia.<sup>40</sup>

This project is, in part, a research effort designed

---

<sup>38</sup> Ibid.

<sup>39</sup> Southern Regional Council Report, 1965, p. 3.

<sup>40</sup> First Annual Report of the Voter Education Project, Southern Regional Council (Atlanta, 1962-63), pp. 1-19.

to develop educational programs which will be most effective in providing voters with the knowledge and the will to register. Field work is done by the participating agencies on a non-partisan basis. The agencies participating are: The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, the Urban League, Congress of Racial Equality, the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, and the Southern Christian Leadership Conference.<sup>41</sup>

All the agencies work in accordance with the program and budget approved by the project. They are to gather reports which will be submitted to VEP for "analysis, study methods, and techniques used, problems encountered, solutions developed, and the results of the program."

This project will run approximately two and one half years.<sup>42</sup> Its field work was completed in October, 1964, after having registered over 600,000 Negro voters. VEP is now engaged in preparing a comprehensive analysis of its data for book publication.<sup>43</sup>

---

<sup>41</sup> Ibid., p. 5. See also Cook, op. cit., p. 145.

<sup>42</sup> Ibid.

<sup>43</sup> Southern Regional Council Report, 1965, p. 3.

Southern Christian Leadership Conference. --

The aims and purposes of this organization are:

1. To achieve full citizenship rights and total integration of the Negro in American life;
2. To stimulate nonviolent direct mass action, to remove the barriers of segregation and discrimination;
3. To disseminate the creative philosophy and techniques of nonviolence through local area workshops;
4. To secure the right and unhampered use of the ballot for every citizen;
5. To reduce the cultural lag through citizenship training programs.

The leader and president of SCLC is Martin Luther King, Jr. He believes in a nonviolent philosophy similar to the philosophy of Mahatma Gandhi of India. This movement in the United States brought mass demonstrations and mass peaceful protests. This is not a "passive protest, but an active, aggressive, compelling protest which rejects violence and hostility."<sup>45</sup>

Southern Christian Leadership Conference is very active in voter registration in the South. It plans "To

---

<sup>45</sup> "Introduction," New South, October-November, 1963, pp. 1-2.

double the number of qualified Negro voters in the South.<sup>46</sup>  
The organization hopes to accomplish its goal, in large measure, through increased Negro voting power.<sup>47</sup>

The organization and the Georgia Voters League conducted citizenship clinics in eight different cities supported by the Voter Education Project. According to its June, 1964, Newsletter, there is an estimated 275,000 registered voters in Georgia.<sup>48</sup>

Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee. -- Out of the sit-ins came the youngest and most militant of the Negro civil rights organizations, the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee. This organization was started by the southern Negro students at the close of an April, 1960 meeting at Shaw University in Raleigh, North Carolina. It was sponsored by Rev. Martin Luther King, Jr., of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference.<sup>49</sup> After the second conference, October 14-16, 1960, the students established permanent headquarters in Atlanta. One repre-

---

<sup>47</sup>Ibid.

<sup>48</sup>"Report 275,000 Negroes Registered in Georgia," Newsletter, Southern Christian Leadership Conference, June, 1964, p. 1.

<sup>49</sup>"The Sit-in Movement, 1960-61," New South, October-November, 1963, pp. 3-6.

sentative from each southern state and the District of Columbia made up the Coordinating Committee. John Lewis is chairman of this committee. Since 1960, it has been active in every southern state in an attempt to bring true democracy to this nation.<sup>50</sup>

SNCC launched its first voter registration project in Walthall, Pike, and Amite counties of Mississippi. These students worked for subsistence salaries when funds were available, but at times, they chopped cotton and picked squash to secure food. They lived in the community, often in the homes of local residents.<sup>51</sup>

Congress of Racial Equality. -- A little more than a year after sit-ins began, CORE announced on March 13, 1961, that a small biracial group would travel on interstate buses from Washington to New Orleans to test racial discrimination in interstate travel terminals.<sup>52</sup> Many of the terminals still had segregated waiting rooms and lunch counters, despite Interstate Commerce Commission and Supreme

---

<sup>50</sup>  
Ibid.

<sup>51</sup>  
A Report of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (Atlanta, 1963), p. 2.

Court rulings.<sup>53</sup>

From jeers to beatings, the freedom riders ran into trouble. Many of them were put into jail before they reached their destination, New Orleans. They accomplished their "overt" purpose -- federal action that would end virtually all discrimination in carriers and terminals used by interstate travelers.<sup>54</sup>

Recently, CORE has taken part in the Negro voter registration sponsored by the Voter Education Project. This was a "comprehehsive, all-out" drive to increase Negro registration in the South.<sup>55</sup>

Throughout the South, there are Negro, civic, fraternal, non-partisan voter organizations to help promote registration in their local communities. These organizations worked along with VEP to increase the Negro registration in the South. In Alabama, there are the State Coordinating Committee and the Montgomery Improvement Association; in Florida, the Florida Voters League; Georgia

---

<sup>53</sup>Ibid., p. 7.

<sup>54</sup>Ibid.

<sup>55</sup>Cook, op. cit., p. 145. See also First Annual Report of the Voter Education Project, Southern Regional Council (Atlanta, 1962-1963), pp. 1-19.

has the Georgia Negro Voters League. In Atlanta are the Atlanta Urban League, the All-Citizens Registration Committee, and the Atlanta Negro Voters League. In South Carolina, there is the Palmetto Voters Association, and in Virginia is the Virginia Voters League, and in Arkansas, the State Democratic Association.<sup>54</sup>

---

<sup>54</sup>Irving, op. cit., p. 398. See also Margaret Price, The Negro Voter in the South (Atlanta, 1959), pp. 38-39.

## CHAPTER IV.

### PROGRESS AND PROBLEMS OF NEGRO REGISTRATION

Increases. -- Immediately after the "white primary" was declared unconstitutional in Smith v. Allwright in 1944, the number and proportion of Negroes registered to vote in the southern states increased.<sup>1</sup> In 1940, 250,000 Negroes, or five per cent of the Negroes of voting age were registered. Three years later, both numbers and proportion of Negroes registered had doubled. By 1952, about 20 per cent of the Negroes were registered to vote. Since 1952, the rate of interest has been less impressive. In 1956, the Southern Regional Council estimated that about 25 per cent of the eligible Negroes were registered.

In 1962, after two Civil Rights Acts, the Voter Education Project and local registration drives, the number increased to 28 per cent.<sup>2</sup> In 1964, the number increased to 43.8 per cent.<sup>3</sup>

The campaign to get Negroes registered has encountered

---

<sup>1</sup>Donald R. Matthews and James W. Prothro, "Social and Economic Factors and Negro Voter Registration in the South," American Political Science Review, LVII (March, 1963), 27.

<sup>2</sup>Matthews and Prothro, op. cit., p. 27.

<sup>3</sup>Branton, op. cit., p. 15.



success in many sections of the South. Yet there are 2,843,000 unregistered Negroes of voting age.<sup>4</sup>

According to the figures on Table I (not available by states), 250,000 Negroes were registered in the eleven southern states in 1940. By 1952, the number had increased to 1,008,614.

When the Voter Education Project and local, civic organizations began their registration campaigns in 1962, there were 1,475,400. In 1964, when VEP ended, the total number of Negroes registered in the South was 2,174,200, an increase of 698,000.

The 250,000 registered voters in 1940 represented only 5 per cent of the Negroes of voting age. Today, there are 2,174,200 registered or 22.4 per cent of the Negroes of voting age and 43.8 per cent of the eligible Negroes registered. In spite of this increase, there are still 2,843,000 unregistered Negroes in the eleven southern states.

Current Problems. -- Some of the current problems, which might account for the striking differences between 43.8 and 73.1, are listed in the Report of the Civil Rights Commission of 1961. They are:

---

<sup>4</sup>Ibid.

NEGRO REGISTRATION (ESTIMATES)\* FROM 1940 TO 1964<sup>1</sup>

STATES	1940	1947	1952	1956	1958	1960	1962	1964
ALA.	N/A	6,000	25,234	53,366	70,000	66,009	68,400	111,100
ARK.	N/A	47,000	61,413	69,677	64,023	72,604	36,000	105,000
FLA.	N/A	49,000	120,900	148,703	144,810	180,107	182,000	300,000
GA.	N/A	125,000	144,855	163,389	161,958	38,151	175,000	270,000
LA.	N/A	10,000	120,000	161,410	131,068	159,005	151,000	164,000
MISS.	N/A	5,000	20,000	20,000	20,000	23,801	24,000	28,500
N. C.	N/A	75,000	100,000	135,000	150,000	210,000	210,000	258,000
S. C.	N/A	50,000	80,000	99,890	57,978	81,500	90,000	144,000
TENN.	N/A	80,000	85,000	90,000	185,000	N/A	150,000	218,000
TEXAS	N/A	100,000	181,916	214,000	226,818	N/A	242,000	375,000
VA.	N/A	48,000	69,326	82,603	92,172	100,000	110,100	200,000
TOTAL	250,000	595,000	1,008,615	1,238,038	1,303,827	1,414,052	1,475,400	2,174,200

<sup>1</sup> Margaret Price, The Negro and the Ballot in the South, p. 9 and Appendix. See also Wiley A. Branton, "To Register to Vote in Mississippi," New South, February, 1965, p. 15, and Atlanta Constitution, March 21, 1965, p. 12.

\*Current, reliable registration figures are difficult to obtain, Margaret Price, op. cit., p. 9.

TABLE I. (cont'd.)

2 Increase since 4/1/62 1964	1964 Unregistered Negroes of Voting Age	Per Cent of Eligible Negroes Registered		Per Cent of Negroes of VAP 1964	Per Cent of Eligible Whites Registered 1964
		1956	1964		
42,700	370,000	11.0	23.0	26.2	70.7
36,000	88,000	36.0	49.3	18.4	71.7
117,500	170,000	32.0	63.7	15.2	84.0
94,500	343,000	27.0	44.0	25.4	74.5
13,000	350,000	31.0	32.0	28.5	80.4
4,500	394,000	5.0	6.7	36.0	70.1
47,500	293,000	24.0	46.8	21.5	92.5
53,100	227,000	27.0	38.8	29.3	78.5
67,100	96,000	29.0	69.4	14.9	72.9
133,000	275,000	37.0	57.7	11.7	53.2
89,900	237,000	19.0	45.7	18.8	55.9
698,000	2,843,000	25.0	43.8	22.4	73.1

<sup>2</sup>Branton stated in the report, "To Register to Vote in Mississippi," that the increase can not be credited entirely to VEP, but most of the registration activity was carried on by VEP and its cooperating agencies, p. 15.

(cont'd).

- 50 -

Increase <sup>2</sup> Since 4/1/62 1964	1964 Unregistered Negroes of Voting Age	Per Cent of Eligible Negroes Registered		Per Cent of Negroes of VAP	Per Cent of Eligible Whites Registered
		1956	1964	1964	1964
42,700	370,000	11.0	23.0	26.2	70.7
36,000	88,000	36.0	49.3	18.4	71.7
117,500	170,000	32.0	63.7	15.2	84.0
94,500	343,000	27.0	44.0	25.4	74.5
13,000	350,000	31.0	32.0	28.5	80.4
4,500	394,000	5.0	6.7	36.0	70.1
47,500	293,000	24.0	46.8	21.5	92.5
53,100	227,000	27.0	38.8	29.3	78.5
67,100	96,000	29.0	69.4	14.9	72.9
,000	275,000	37.0	57.7	11.7	53.2
,900	237,000	19.0	45.7	18.8	55.9
,000	2,843,000	25.0	43.8	22.4	73.1

<sup>2</sup> Branton stated in the report, "To Register to Vote in Mississippi," that the increase not be credited entirely to VEP, but most of the registration activity was carried on by and its cooperating agencies, P. 15.

- (a) The requirement of a specified number of registered voters as 'vouchers' to identify would-be voters. If no Negroes are registered, no white will 'vouch' for Negroes;
- (b) The imposition of other unduly technical requirements for identification of would-be voters;
- (c) The rejection of applicants for registration, or the removal of voters from the rolls, on grounds of minor technical errors in the completion of required forms;
- (d) Refusing or failing to notify registrants whether or not they have been registered;
- (e) Imposing various forms of delay in the registration process;
- (f) Providing assistance to some would-be voters, but declining to provide it for others;
- (g) Restrictive voter qualification laws;
- (h) Threats, intimidations, and fear of retaliation.<sup>5</sup>

"Slow-down" techniques are used in some of the southern states. Negroes are rejected for technical errors such as computing their exact ages.<sup>6</sup> Often they have to suffer long periods of waiting before officials attend them. Another "slow-down" device used is to inform the Negro applicants that cards have run out, or tell them all members of the board are not present, or it is closing time.<sup>7</sup>

---

<sup>5</sup> Report of the U. S. Civil Rights Commission, Voting (Washington, 1961), pp. 17-20.

<sup>6</sup> H. L. Moon, "The Southern Scene," Phylon, XVI (Fourth Quarter, 1955), 356.

<sup>7</sup> Margaret Price, The Condition of Our Rights (Atlanta, 1947), pp. 14-15.

Another current problem facing some of the would-be voters in the South is poll taxes in state and local elections. Only four states, Alabama, Mississippi, Texas, and Virginia, require poll taxes in local and state elections. The next Civil Rights Bill in the House of Representatives will bar this tax in all elections, providing it is accepted by the Senate. <sup>8</sup>

Purges occur in Louisiana and elsewhere. Here two bona fide registered voters can challenge by affidavit the right of a person to be registered. Within ten days, the person challenged has to appear before the registrar to "prove" his right to remain on the voting list. If the challenged person fails to appear, his name is automatically removed from the voting list. <sup>9</sup>

Matthews and Prothro think that it would be a "gross" error to attribute the substantial disparity to legal and political discrimination alone." <sup>10</sup> They said these are also factors to keep Negroes away from registering -- low social

---

<sup>8</sup> Al Kuettner, "Negro Vote is Doubled in Some States," Atlanta Constitution, June 28, 1965, p. 9.

<sup>9</sup> Margaret Price, The Negro Voter in the South (Atlanta, 1957, p. 14.

<sup>10</sup> Donald Matthews and James Prothro, "Political Factors and Negro Voter Registration in the South," American Political Science Review, LVII (June, 1963), 355.

status, small incomes, and limited education. These factors are associated with low voter turn out among all populations, regardless of color or region.<sup>11</sup>

"Apathy" and lack of interest seem to limit voting of thousands of southern Negroes. Such disinterest can be found everywhere, among both Negroes and whites.<sup>12</sup> No one knows to what extent segregation has deadened the Negro's initiative and civic interest.<sup>13</sup>

Often it is difficult to arouse motivation to vote when there is little concrete evidence of benefits to compensate the Negro for the trouble of registering and voting. Many Negroes do not see how political participation ties in with personal welfare. Too, it is impossible to know what extent fear contributes to "apathy," Whatever the contributing factors, consultants found indifference one of the strongest barriers to increase voting in the South. Until the opportunity to vote is improved in the southern states, the extent of disinterest can not be measured.<sup>14</sup>

---

<sup>11</sup> Ibid.

<sup>12</sup> Price, op. cit., p. 30. See also C. A. Bacote, "The Negro in Atlanta Politics," Phylon, XVI (Fourth Quarter, 1955), 315.

<sup>13</sup> Ibid.

<sup>14</sup> Price, op. cit., p. 30.

## CHAPTER V

### RECENT LAWS TO AID REGISTRATION AND VOTING

Civil Rights Act of 1957. -- In 1957, Congress passed a Civil Rights Act, designed to give further protection to the Negro's right to vote.<sup>1</sup>

The Act set up the Civil Rights Commission and gave it authority to investigate the status of civil rights anywhere in the nation. It reported in 1959 that the Commission regarded the right to vote "as the cornerstone of the Republic and the key to all our civil rights."<sup>2</sup>

This Commission was given the power to subpoena witnesses, hold hearings, and obtain information, but it was not given enforcement sanctions. It reports its findings to the President of the United States and Congress. The Commission met its first major test in Macon County, Alabama. There was a 85 per cent Negro population, but Negroes constituted only 28 per cent of the registered voters.<sup>3</sup>

---

<sup>1</sup> Jacob Javits, Discrimination U.S.A. (New York, 1961), p. 120.

<sup>2</sup> Cited in David Fellman, "Constitutional Law in 1959-1960," American Political Science Review, LX (March, 1961), 115.

<sup>3</sup> Ralph McGill, "The Case for the Southern Progressive," Saturday Review, June 13, 1964, pp. 22-23. See also Bernard Taper, Gomillion V. Lightfoot (New York, 1962), p. 11.



In Macon County, Alabama, where the famous Tuskegee Institute is located, the Federal Bureau of Investigation found no registration board existed, perhaps to prevent Negroes from registering. When the board members were appointed on court order, they failed to appear on registration day, July 20, 1959. A state law was passed gerrymandering a whole area around the city. Teachers and students at Tuskegee were excluded from effective voting by the unnatural and unfair way of splitting up the districts in Macon County.<sup>4</sup>

Undoubtedly, the boldest use of gerrymandering was involved in the act passed by the Alabama legislature in 1957. It altered the shape of Tuskegee from a square to a twenty-eight sided figures.<sup>5</sup> Negroes of Tuskegee went to court to challenge the validity of the gerrymandering act. Gomillion, a professor at Tuskegee, and others brought the suit against Lightfoot, the mayor, and others. The case Gomillion V. Lightfoot reached the Supreme Court on a Writ of Certiorari where the law was declared unconstitutional because Act

---

<sup>4</sup> Javits, op. cit., p. 150.

<sup>5</sup> George W. Spicer, "The Federal Judiciary and Political Change," The American South in the 1960's, ed. Avery Leiserson (New York, 1964), p. 170.

Number 140 is a device to disfranchise Negro citizens.<sup>6</sup>

In 1960, civil rights became the number one domestic issue because Congress realized no section of the United States can hope to sustain democratic institutions very long when only one out of every twenty of its citizens can go freely to the polls to vote.<sup>7</sup>

Civil Rights Act of 1960. -- On April 8, the Civil Rights Act of 1960 was passed by a Senate vote of 71 to 18.<sup>8</sup> This new legislation was designed to strengthen the 1957 Civil Rights Act. The main provision of the 1960 Civil Rights Act which applies to voting is as follows:

1. Federal courts are authorized to appoint voting referees, providing the courts, as a result of legal suit, find that duly qualified voters in a given area are being deprived of the right to vote because of a pattern of racial discrimination. If such discrimination persists, then the court-appointed referees are empowered to grant voting certificates to the would-be voters.
2. State election officials are required to preserve election records for twenty-two months and to permit inspection of such records by the Department of Justice.
3. The State Department may sue a state for obstructing voting rights in cases where state election officials

---

<sup>6</sup> Gomillion v. Lightfoot, 364 U. S. 339 (1960).

<sup>7</sup> Spicer, op. cit., pp. 269-270.

<sup>8</sup> U. S. Congressional Record, 86th Congress, 2d Sess., 1960 CVI, Part 7, 10038. See also U. S. Congressional Record, 86th Cong., 2d Sess., 1960, CVI, Part 5, 5870.

have resigned to avoid suits.<sup>9</sup>

The U. S. Civil Rights Commission came to Tuskegee, Macon County, Alabama, to investigate. Here all but ten Negroes out of 420 voters were removed from within the city. White registrars refused to testify or permit agents of the Commission to see their records, but the records were impounded.<sup>10</sup>

A suit was brought against Macon County by the United States government for racial discriminatory practices. This action was authorized by the 1960 Act.<sup>11</sup>

Judge Frank Johnson of the Federal District Court of Alabama declared the gerrymandering act unconstitutional. He ordered the Macon County Board to expedite registration of some four hundred Negro voter applicants.<sup>12</sup>

---

<sup>9</sup> U. S. Congressional Record, 86th Cong., 2d Sess., 1960 CVI, Part 7, 10038. See also report of the U. S. Civil Rights Commission, Voting (Washington, 1961), p. 133.

<sup>10</sup> Joseph Brittain, "Some Reflection on Negro Suffrage and Politics," The Journal of Negro History, XLVLL (April, 1962), 127-138.

<sup>11</sup> David Fellman, "Constitutional Law in 1959-1960," The American Political Science Review, LV (March, 1961), 115.

<sup>12</sup> Osborn Elliott, "Congress: Filibuster Ahead," Newsweek, June 24, 1963, pp. 34-39.

Civil Rights Bill of 1963. -- President John F. Kennedy submitted to Congress in June of 1963 another Civil Rights Bill. He asked Congress for new legislation "to meet the swelling tide of Negro discontent." He said in his nationwide address on the Civil Rights Crisis:

" . . . Now the time has come for this nation to fulfill its promise. . . . The fires of frustration and discord are burning in every city, North and South. The events in Birmingham and elsewhere have so increased the cries for equality that no city or state legislative body can prudently choose to ignore them. . . . It is time to act in Congress, in your state and local legislative body, and above all, in our daily lives."

The Civil Rights Bill of 1963 met with a bristling reception from southern congressmen and the sure prospect of a bitter filibuster. Congress braced itself for the new Civil Rights Bill. The bitterness of the southerners even surpassed their moods in the civil rights struggles of 1957 and 1960, and as a result the bill did not pass.<sup>13</sup>

---

<sup>13</sup> Osborn Elliott, "Congress: Filibuster Ahead," Newsweek, June 24, 1963, pp. 34-39.

The Twenty-Fourth Amendment. -- From 1944 to 1962, Congress attempted to pass a poll tax amendment. In 1944, Mr. Collier of New York stated that, "The payment of any poll tax should not be a condition of voting in federal elections, and we favor immediate submission of a constitutional amendment to the abolition."<sup>14</sup>

The following amendment was submitted to the legislatures of the fifty states, September 14, 1962, after it had been approved by both houses of the 87th Congress. It became part of the Constitution of the United States after ratification by the required thirty-eight states of the United States. South Dakota was the thirty-eighth state to ratify the amendment.

1. The right of citizens of the United States to vote in any primary or other election for President or Vice-President, or for Senator or Representative in Congress shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or any state by reason of failure to pay any poll tax or other tax.
2. The Congress shall have the power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation.<sup>15</sup>

---

<sup>14</sup>U. S. Congressional Record, 87th Cong. 2d Sess., CVIII, No. 23, August 27, 1962, Extension of Remarks, 16589-16590.

<sup>15</sup>U. S. Constitution, Amendment 24, secs. 1-2. See also The World Almanac (New York, 1965), p. 652.

When the Twenty-Fourth Amendment was ratified on January 23, 1964, a poll tax was required in Alabama, Arkansas, Mississippi, Texas, and Virginia.<sup>16</sup>

Ralph McGill said, "The Twenty-Fourth Amendment is the latest milestone in the one hundred years uphill fight for the extension of democracy in the South. There are still obstacles to be overcome before there is full participation in the political life of the South."<sup>17</sup>

The Twenty-Fourth Amendment only prohibits poll taxes in federal elections, not state and local elections. In four southern states, Alabama, Mississippi, Texas, and Virginia, poll taxes are conditions for voting in state and local elections.<sup>18</sup>

Civil Rights Act of 1964. -- This act, hotly-debated, passed the Senate by a vote of 73 to 27. The Senate had halted filibuster by a historic vote of 71-29. Never before had the Senate of the United States succeed in choking off

---

<sup>16</sup> The World Almanac (New York, 1965), p. 47.

<sup>17</sup> McGill, op. cit., p. 20.

<sup>18</sup> Voter Rights Bill Cleared for House," Atlanta Constitution, July 2, 1965, p. 15.

a southern filibuster against any civil rights bill.<sup>19</sup>

After President Johnson signed the Civil Rights Act on July 2, 1964, he addressed the nation:

One hundred eighty-eight years ago this week, a small band of valiant men began a struggle for freedom with the writing of the Declaration of Independence. That was a turning point in history, and the ideals proclaimed in the Declaration of Independence still shape the struggle of men who hunger for freedom . . . . Nevertheless, though Americans believe all men are equal, and have inalienable rights, many in America are denied equal treatment, and do not enjoy those rights or the blessings of liberty, not because of their own failures, but because of the color of their skin . . . .<sup>20</sup>

The Civil Rights Act of 1964 is the most "far-reaching" civil rights law since Reconstruction days. President Lyndon B. Johnson recommended steps to implement the law, and immediately called on all Americans "to help eliminate the last vestige of injustice in America."<sup>21</sup>

---

<sup>19</sup> New York Times, June 20, 1964, p. 1. Also Ted Lippman, "Senate Halts Filibuster by Historic 71-29 Vote," Atlanta Constitution, June 11, 1964, p. 1. See also Osborn Elliott, "The Historic Vote: 71-29," Newsweek, June 22, 1964, pp. 25-26.

<sup>20</sup> New York Times, July 3, 1964, p. 1.

<sup>21</sup> Ibid., July 4, 1964, p. 1.

Title I of the 1964 Civil Rights Act states:

In federal elections involving the presidency and other federal officers, no voter can be barred because of immaterial errors in registration or application and the same standards must apply to all applicants. All literacy tests must be written unless the applicant requests otherwise . . . .<sup>22</sup>

The aim of Title I is to enforce constitutional rights to vote in federal elections. It is a right guaranteed to all citizens by the Fifteenth Amendment, but a right which is being denied by many southern states. Voting qualifications in many of these states are based on color.<sup>23</sup>

---

<sup>22</sup> U. S. Congressional Record, 88th Cong. 2d Sess., 1964, CX, 7788. See also "Voter Registration," U. S. News and World Report, March 29, 1965.

<sup>23</sup> U. S. Congressional Record, 88th Cong. 2d Sess., 1964, CX, 7773.



## CHAPTER VI

### SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

Despite the literacy tests, "slow-downs," purges, and other discriminatory devices, a revolution is taking place in the South, Negroes -- both young and old -- have joined together to take the first step of a successful revolution -- to dare to challenge the old order of the South.<sup>1</sup>

In the South, Negroes are fighting to preserve, rather than overthrow, the existing government and Constitution. They are employing as their "weapons of revolution, petitions, appeals to reason and justice, protest meetings, ultimatums, and mass demonstrations."<sup>2</sup>

This revolt had no precise precedent in American history. It is a revolution in which no ruler is "liquidated," and with only a few exceptions, no violence. Change will be slow but change must take place. The dream of the southern Negroes in 1964 is not what it was in 1863. "It is constantly changing, expanding, and assuming new dimensions."<sup>3</sup>

---

<sup>1</sup> Osborn Elliott, "The Nature of the Revolution," Newsweek, July 29, 1964, pp. 26-27.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid.

<sup>3</sup> Elliott, op. cit., pp. 26-27. Also see St. Clair Drake, The American Dream and the Negro - 100 Years of Freedom (Chicago, 1963), p. 11.

There are over five million Negroes of voting age living in the South, but only 43.8 per cent of the Negroes vote compared with 73.1 per cent of the white adults. On January 1, 1965, the Southern Regional Council reported there were 2,174,210 Negroes registered in the South. This amounts to 43.8 per cent of the Negro residents 21 years of age or older. About one-third of this total was added during the last three years. Voter education drives, sponsored by the Southern Regional Council since 1962, have added 698,000 Negro names to the voting rolls.<sup>4</sup> Despite this gain, 2,843,000 Negroes are not registered to vote in the South.

The majority of the 2,843,000 non-registered Negro voters live in Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana, South Carolina, and Georgia. The figures of the Southern Regional Council show that Negro attempts to register have been most successful in Tennessee, Texas, and Florida. Texas, with a gain of 133,000, has the largest number of Negro registered voters, 375,000.<sup>5</sup>

---

<sup>4</sup> Crusade for Citizenship, (Pamphlet of Southern Christian Leadership Conference, 1962).

<sup>5</sup> These figures from the Southern Regional Council were reported by Jack Claiborne, "South's Negro Registration is 43 Per Cent," Atlanta Constitution, March 21, 1965, p. 12. Also Crusade for Citizenship, (Pamphlet of Southern Christian Leadership Conference, 1962).

These states gained as follows: Florida is second with a gain of 117,000; Georgia gained 94,500; Virginia gained 89,900; Tennessee, 67,100; South Carolina, 53,100; North Carolina gained 47,500; Alabama, 42,700; Arkansas 36,000, and Louisiana gained 13,000. Mississippi, with a gain of 4,500, has the lowest number of registered voters, 28,500.<sup>6</sup>

Literacy tests have replaced white primaries as a means of curbing the Negro vote in the South. Alabama, Georgia, Louisiana, Virginia, North and South Carolina have literacy tests, but they vary widely. To vote in the above states, a Negro depends largely on the registrar's "sense of justice or prejudice."<sup>7</sup>

In Alabama, someone already registered has to "recommend" or "vouch" for a would-be voter. Since in many rural counties in Alabama, there are no registered Negroes, no white person will dare "vouch" for a Negro to register.<sup>8</sup> In Mississippi, a Negro must read and write and interpret any provision of the 285 sections of the state constitution. Too, the would-be

---

<sup>6</sup> Ibid.

<sup>7</sup> Ralph McGill, "Voting Law Constitutional," Atlanta Constitution, April 30, 1965.

<sup>8</sup> Ibid.

voter must write an essay on the duties of a citizen under a republican form of government to the satisfaction of the registrar. Yet, the registrar, who might not have any educational competence, is not obligated to explain his decision for now allowing Negroes to register.<sup>9</sup>

Literacy tests, "character" tests, and other discriminatory devices to prevent Negroes from voting will be banned in the 1965 Civil Rights Act now in the House of Representatives. It passed the Senate by a vote of 77-19,<sup>10</sup> and now has cleared the House Rules Committee by a 11-to-4 vote.<sup>11</sup>

Today, Negroes are in the "mid-stream" of their struggle to realize the American Dream, "the realization of freedom."<sup>12</sup> In this struggle, they are united as never before. When the Negro demands "equal rights," he is told to be patient.<sup>13</sup>

---

<sup>9</sup> Osborn, Elliot, "Civil Rights: But How Many Will Vote?," Newsweek, June 7, 1965, pp. 20-21.

<sup>10</sup> "Voter Rights Bill Cleared the House," Atlanta Constitution, July 2, 1965, p. 15.

<sup>11</sup> Ibid.

<sup>12</sup> St. Clair Drake, The American Dream (Chicago, 1963), pp. 51-52.

<sup>13</sup> R. H. Brisbane, "The Negro's Growing Political Power," The Nation, September 27, 1952, p. 249.

His demands have been written within the Constitution, and his methods have been within the liberties and privileges of the Constitution. The Revolution, which will rank second only to Reconstruction in the emancipation of the southern Negro, has been a "new force and one of tremendous effect."<sup>14</sup>

The struggle is not over, for as Carl Rowan said, "The Negro battle has just begun, and he will need all the brainpower, all the charm, all the social grace, all the instruments of moral suasion he can muster to win it . . . . We have just about succeeded in knocking down the legal barriers to first-class citizenship . . . . To complete the tasks will require much more than those legislative tools being fashioned in Washington . . . ." <sup>15</sup>

Today, Negroes are asking for more and "they will not be satisfied with no less than that which is accorded all American citizens." <sup>16</sup>

---

<sup>14</sup>Leslie Dunbar, "The Changing Mind of the South, Journal of Politics, XXVI (February, 1964), 15-16.

<sup>15</sup>Carl Rowan, "Negro's Fight Has Just Begun," Commencement Address to graduating class of 1965, Atlanta University, Atlanta Constitution, June 1, 1965, p. 8.

<sup>16</sup>William M. Boyd, "Southern Politics," Phylon, XIII (First Quarter, 1952), 229.

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

### Books

- Ashmore, Harry S. An Epitaph for Dixie, New York: W. W. Norton and Company, Inc., 1958.
- Bassett, John S. A Short History of the United States 1492-1920. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1932.
- Beard, Charles A. A Basic History of the United States New York: Doubleday, Doran and Company, 1944.
- Cook, James. The Segregationists. New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, 1962.
- Drake, St. Clair. The American Dream and the Negro. Chicago: Roosevelt University Press, 1963.
- Dowd, Jerome. The Negro in American Life. New York: The Century Company, 1926.
- Franklin, John Hope. The Militant South, 1800-1861. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1956.
- \_\_\_\_\_. From Slavery to Freedom. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1947.
- \_\_\_\_\_. Reconstruction After the Civil War. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1961.
- Heard, Alexander. A Two-Party South? Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1952.
- Javits, Jacob. Discrimination U.S.A. New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1960.
- Key, V. O. Public Opinion and American Democracy. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1961.
- \_\_\_\_\_. Southern Politics. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1961.

- Leiserson, Avery (ed.). The American South in the 1960's. New York: Frederick A. Praeger, Inc., 1964.
- Marksman, Charles, et al. John F. Kennedy - A Series of Purpose. New York: St. Martin's Press, 1961.
- McGill, Ralph. The South and the Southerner. Boston: Little Brown and Company, 1963.
- Myrdal, Gunnar. An American Dilemma, The Negro Problem and Democracy. New York: Harper Brothers, 1944.
- Nelson, Bernard. Fourteenth Amendment and the Negro Since 1920. Washington: The Catholic University Press, 1946.
- Odegard, Peter and Helms, E. Allen. American Politics. New York: Harper and Brothers, 1947.
- Penniman, Howard. The American Political Process. New York: D. Van Nostrand Company, Inc. 1962.
- Price, Hugo Douglas. The Negro and Southern Politics. New York: New York University Press, 1957.
- Price, Margaret. The Condition of Our Rights. Atlanta: Southern Regional Council, 1957.
- \_\_\_\_\_. The Negro and the Ballot. Atlanta: Southern Regional Council, 1959.
- Randel, William P. The Ku Klux Klan. Philadelphia: Chilton Books Publishers, 1965.
- Rayford, Logan (ed.). The Attitude of Southern White Press Toward Negro Suffrage, 1932-1940. Washington: The Foundation Publishers, 1940.

Reuther, Edward. The American Race Problem, A Study of the Negro. New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Company, 1938.

Rice, Arnold S. The Ku Klux Klan. Washington: Public Affairs Press, 1962.

Rose, Arnold and Caroline. America Divided: Minority Group Relations in the U. S. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1963.

Rose, Arnold (ed.). Race Prejudice and Discrimination. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1951.

Rowan, Carl T. South of Freedom. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1952.

\_\_\_\_\_. Go South Tomorrow. New York: Random House, 1957.

Taper, Bernard. Gomillion V. Lightfoot. New York: McGraw-Hill Company, Inc., 1962.

World Almanac and Book of Facts. New York: New York World Telegram and Sun, 1965.

#### Supreme Court Cases

Brown V. Board of Education. 342 U. S. 972 (1954).

Gomillion V. Lightfoot, 364 U. S. 339 (1960).

Plessy V. Ferguson, 163 U. S. 537 (1896).

Smith V. Allwright, 321 U. S. 649 (1944).

#### Articles and Periodicals

Bacote, C. A. "The Negro in Atlanta Politics," Phylon, XVI (1955), 315-325.

Branton, Wiley A. "To Register to Vote in Mississippi," New South, February, 1965, pp. 10-15.



Brisbane, R. H. "The Negro's Growing Political Power," The Nation, September 27, 1952, p. 249.

Catholic Bishops of the U. S. A. A report of their annual meeting in Washington, Crisis, January, 1959, pp. 15-19.

Cook, Samuel D. "Political Movements and Organizations in the South," The Journal of Politics, XXVI (1964), 132-136.

Dorsey, Emmett. "The American Negro and His Government," Crisis, July, 1961, pp. 469-477.

Dunbar, Leslie. "The Changing Mind of the South," Journal of Politics, XXVI (1964), 9-20.

Cahill, Edward. "The Changing South: Revolution or Reconciliation," Phylon, XIX (1958), 202-207.

Elliot, Osborn. "The Negro in America," Newsweek, July 29, 1963, pp. 15-34.

\_\_\_\_\_. "How Whites Feel About Negroes: A Painful American Dilemma," Newsweek, October 21, 1963, pp. 44-47.

\_\_\_\_\_. "The Historic Vote: 71-29," Newsweek, June 22, 1964, pp. 25-26.

\_\_\_\_\_. "Civil Rights: But How Many Will Vote?," Newsweek, June 7, 1965, pp. 20-21.

\_\_\_\_\_. "Civil Rights: Pulling Lightning," Newsweek, May 25, 1964, p. 34.

\_\_\_\_\_. "Congress the Minuet," Newsweek, June 15, 1964, p. 30.

\_\_\_\_\_. "Primaries: The Negro Vote," Newsweek, May 18, 1964, p. 32.

- Ivey, James. "The Right to Vote," Crisis, July, 1962, pp. 276-277.
- Killian, Lewis. "Consensus in the Changing South," Phylon, XVIII (1957), 116.
- Matthews, Donald R. and Prothro, James. "Political Factors and Negro Voter Registration in the South," American Political Science Review, LVII (1963), 355-358.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "Social and Economic Factors and Negro Registration in the South." American Political Science Review, LVII (1963), 27.
- McBride, Thomas D. "Human Rights," Crisis, January, 1959, pp. 7-12.
- McGill, Ralph. "The Case for the Southern Progressive," Saturday Review, June 13, 1964, pp. 18-20.
- Moon, Henry L. "The Southern Scene," Phylon, VI (1955), 9.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "The Negro Vote in the South," The Nation September 27, 1952, p. 247.
- Morsell, John. "Another Look at Negro Politics," Crisis, March, 1961, p. 151.
- Patan, Alan. "The Negro in America Today," Collier, October 29, 1964, pp. 18-19.
- Price, Hugh D. "The Negro and Florida Politics - 1944-1954," Journal of Politics XVII (1955), 198-220.
- Reid, I. D. "Racial Desegregation and Integration," Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, CCCIV (1956), 3.

Smith, Charles. "Race Relations and the Changing South," Phylon, XXIII (1948), 500.

U. S. News and World Report, March 29, 1965, pp. 30-31.

Weeks, O. Douglas. "The White Primary," American Political Science Review, XLII (1948), 500.

White, Theodore, H. "Power Structure, Integration, Militancy, Freedom Now!," Life, November 29, 1963, pp. 78-93.

Wilkins, Roy. "Barriers Broken, Pathways Cleared," Crisis, August-September, 1959, pp. 398-400.

Newsletter, Southern Christian Leadership Conference, 1964.

New York Times. 1960-1964.

The Atlanta Constitution. 1964-1965.

The Atlanta Daily World. 1964.

#### Public Documents

U. S. Congressional Record. Vols. XCVIII, CVI, CX.

U. S. Constitution.

U. S. Report of Commission on Civil Rights, Voting, 1961.

#### Unpublished Material

Barnes, Thomas D. "Voting and Registration of Negroes in a Southern Town." Unpublished Master's thesis, Department of History, Atlanta University, 1948.

Jones, Allen. "Negro Suffrage in Florida from 1865 to Present." Unpublished Master's thesis, Department of History, Atlanta University, 1948.

Ward, Horace. "The Fourteenth Amendment as an Instrument in the Protection of Civil Rights Against State Action." Unpublished Master's thesis, Department of Political Science, Atlanta University, 1950.